

CHAPTER 14

CULTURAL RELATIONS
BETWEEN PARTHIA AND ROME¹

The Parthians and the Romans were enemies engaged in ruthless and almost perpetual warfare, a life and death struggle which left few opportunities for peaceful contacts. It is not surprising therefore that the most obvious contacts belong to the sphere of military technology and strategy.

In the 3rd century, just when the Arsacid empire gave way to the Sasanians, the historian Herodian summarized in a few words the respective achievements of the two mighty powers, the Romans and the Persians. The emperor Caracalla (188–217), so Herodian tells us, sent a letter to ask for the hand of a daughter of King Artabanus V of Parthia. The marriage union, Caracalla wrote to Artabanus, would bring together the two greatest powers in the world. The proposal was gladly accepted and Caracalla hurried to Parthia where he was received with all due honours. But during the preparations for the wedding feast he managed to kill the unsuspecting and drunken Parthians. The point of this tall story is to reveal to the world that what Caracalla proclaimed to be a great military victory was simple trickery.

This childish story would not be worth quoting were it not for a passage in the alleged letter of Caracalla with the marriage proposal, which obviously reflects current Roman thinking. Herodian says: "His wish was to marry a princess, the daughter of a great king. He pointed out that the Roman and the Parthian empires were the largest in the world; if they were united by marriage, one empire without a rival would result when they were no longer divided by a river. The rest of the barbarian nations now not subject to their authority could easily be reduced, as they were governed by tribes and confederacies. Furthermore, the Roman infantry were invincible in close-quarter combat with spears, and the Parthians had a large force of highly skilled horse-archers. The two forces, he said, complemented each other; by waging war together, they could easily unite the entire inhabited world

¹ This contribution is printed in the form in which it was found among Professor Kurz's papers at his death in 1975. Some extra material he had collected is incorporated in accord with his presumed intentions. Thanks are due to Dr Michael Rogers for checking the proofs. Ed.

under a single crown. Since the Parthians produced spices and excellent textiles and the Romans metals and manufactured articles, these products would no longer be scarce and smuggled by merchants; rather, when there was one world under one supreme authority, both peoples would enjoy these goods and share them in common."¹

The Parthian empire which the Romans regarded as the second world power was an oriental monarchy.² It is important to stress its oriental character in contrast to the hellenized Parthia of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. The ostentatious philhellenism of the earlier period had disappeared. Greek remained for long the language of the inscriptions on the Parthian coins, but in the 2nd century A.D., the language was no longer understood and the coin legends gradually became a meaningless jumble of letters.

This empire flourished by its trade, being the intermediary between China and South Asia on the one hand, and the western world on the other. The letter concocted by Herodian names the two chief articles of trade, spices and textiles. Not all the spices sold to the west belonged to this carrying trade; as we shall see, a condiment like asafoetida was a native Iranian product. The same distinction applies to textiles: a considerable proportion of the trade consisted of Chinese silks, which reached the west via Parthia, but at the same time there was a constant demand for the native Persian stuffs, which had been famous in the west for many centuries.

Two commodities which enjoyed a reputation in Rome were "Parthian steel" (or "Parthian iron") and "Parthian leather". Pliny mentions "Parthian iron" as the second best in the world:³ it was apparently not Iranian in origin, but an article of trade which came originally from India. Fine leather was imported from the Orient in imperial times, and known as "Parthian"; the later emperors wore knee-length "Parthian boots" of red leather.

¹ Herodian iv. 10 (here quoted from the translation by E. C. Echols). The historical nucleus of the story is told by Dio LXXVIII. 1. It is satisfying that the references to Caracalla's "Utopia of a Romano-Iranian Empire" in the first edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1949, p. 125) have been excised from the second (1970, p. 153).

² Roman knowledge of the Parthians and their customs is reflected on the few remains surviving in the city of a 2nd-century A.D. triumphal arch commemorating a Roman victory over the barbarians. See F. Cumont, "L'adoration des mages et l'art triomphal de Rome", *Atti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia*, Serie IIa, *Memorie* III (Rome, 1932), pp. 82-105: a useful compendium of information on the representation of the Parthians, on the golden crown as a mark of honour and as tribute and on covering the hands; Cumont demonstrates how the representation of barbarians bringing tribute served as the model for the Adoration of the Magi in Christian art.

³ Pliny xxxiv. 145.

MILITARY STRATEGY

MILITARY TECHNOLOGY AND STRATEGY

Herodian stresses that the Romans were invincible on foot and the Parthians on horseback. What impressed and frightened the Romans was the mobility of their Parthian enemies, especially of the dreaded mounted archers who were able to shoot while riding at full speed. The "Parthian shot" was, and still is, proverbial: the enemy who pretends to flee, and suddenly turns round and aims his deadly arrows at his pursuer. It was as often quoted in literature as depicted in art.

After the disastrous defeat at Carrhae (Ḥarrān) in 53 B.C., the Romans realized the necessity to learn from the enemy and to copy his fighting methods. They did it in their usual way, not by reforming the army, but simply by incorporating into it as auxiliaries native troops with their native weapons.

Already during the last decades of the Roman republic mounted Parthian archers fought under Gaius Crassus.¹ While this was more or less an isolated case, during the empire the *alae Parthorum* formed an integral part of the army.² In one instance we hear even of an *ala Parthorum et Arabum*. This was in the 1st century of our era. A tombstone with the figure of an officer belonging to it, found at Mainz in Germany, shows that they were not yet protected by heavy mail.

Authors of late antiquity have left us vivid descriptions of the horror felt by the Romans when they saw for the first time the Parthian archers completely encased in armour.³ Flexible mail covered every limb, their faces were hidden behind masks, and even the horses were protected by mail.⁴ A dazzling sight when seen glittering in the sunlight, these armies appeared to be invulnerable. As soon as the Romans had recovered from the first shock, they did what independently, but more or less at the same time, the Chinese, and later the Arabs, did: they adopted the Persian system of armour for man and horse. We learn from Roman writers that these horsemen were called *clibanarii*.⁵ The words *clibanarii*

¹ Appian, *Civil Wars*, iv. 59, 63, 88.

² These consisted of native Parthians who had either sided with the Romans or been conscripted. On the other hand, the Legio Parthica was so named because it fought in Parthia.

³ Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* ix. 14ff.; Ammianus Marcellinus xxiv. 6. 8.

⁴ The latter was not a new invention, as armour for horses had been in use in Persia since Achaemenian times, originally for the horses which drew the war chariots.

⁵ The *Historia Augusta* contends that *clibanarii* was their Persian name (Aelius Lampridius, *Severus Alexander*, lvi. 5, in *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* ii; but cf. Ammianus Marcellinus (xvi. 10. 8) where *Persae* was inserted into the text by a 16th-century editor); this has caused much speculation about a possible Iranian term underlying the Latin; see E. Herzfeld,

and the more common *cataphractarii* were used as synonyms, both for the Persian and the Roman armoured cavalry units, which in appearance anticipated the medieval knights. A third name, and one in which their eastern origin is particularly manifest, was *Parthusagittarii*, a detachment of whom was stationed in Egypt in the 4th century.¹

Gradually the Parthian tactics became the standard method of warfare in the Roman empire. When in the 6th century A.D. Procopius of Caesarea compared the fighting methods of the Homeric age with those of his own time, he stressed the contrast between the archaic warriors on foot and the modern "expert horsemen, who are able without difficulty to direct their bows to either side while riding at full speed, and to shoot an opponent whether in pursuit or in flight".²

More to the sphere of what would now be termed "psychological warfare" belong the Persian "scythed chariots", fast-moving chariots with rotating scythes designed to mow down the ranks of the enemy. Their frightening effect must always have been greater than their efficiency, and it was apparently the terror they inspired which kept them in use from Achaemenian to Parthian times. Hellenistic rulers like Antiochus Eupator (c. 173-162 B.C.) made use of them, as we learn from the Bible,³ but not so the Romans. When in the 4th century of our era a Latin writer tried to reform the Roman army and much else besides, he recommended strongly the introduction of this old Persian device.⁴

To inspire terror in the ranks of the enemy was the original purpose of the Parthian dragon ensigns which were made of some light material so that they would move in the breeze like enormous serpents.⁵ They were soon taken over by the Roman legions where special *draconarii* were in charge of them. The attention paid to these "dragons" by modern historians of aeronautics is not based on any facts; they were neither Chinese gliding kites nor were they filled with hot air and thus the forerunners of modern balloons.

What the Romans admired in their enemies, and tried to learn from them, was the mobility of their strategy, the surprise movements of a

Am Tor von Asien (Berlin, 1920), p. 87; P. Peeters, "L'église géorgienne du Clibanion au Mont Admirable", *AB* XLVI (1928), 268; and F. Rundgren, "Iranische Lehnwörter im Lateinischen und Griechischen", *Orientalia Suecana* VI (Uppsala, 1957), 50. A different explanation was suggested by W. B. Henning, "The monuments and inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak", *Asia Major* II (1951-2), 162.

¹ H. I. Bell, V. Martin, E. G. Turner and D. van Berchem, *The Abinnaeus Archive* (Oxford, 1962), p. 9.

² Procopius, *History of the Wars* I ("The Persian War"), i. 14.

³ 2 Maccabees XIII. 2.

⁴ E. A. Thompson (ed. and tr.), *A Roman reformer and inventor. De rebus bellicis* (Oxford, 1952), p. 116 (XII. 2).

⁵ Lucian, *How to write history*, xxix.

TECHNOLOGY

fast cavalry. For the Parthians it was exactly the opposite. They were deficient where the Romans excelled, in the technique of static warfare and especially the art of fortification. Like the Romans they were quick to learn from their enemies.¹

TECHNOLOGY

The Romans were outstanding in many aspects of civil engineering and particularly in building technology. In the early 3rd century Shāpūr I called in Roman masons to erect the large dam at Shushtar which served as a reservoir of water for irrigation. The ancient Persian tradition of large-scale hydraulic engineering was thus combined with the unique Roman experience in masonry.² The dam is still called Band-i Qaisar.

While the Romans were unsurpassed as far as building methods were concerned, they were the pupils of the Persians in the fields of irrigation and agriculture. Here three particularly far-reaching inventions – the water-wheel, the water-mill and the windmill – were probably or certainly made in Iran. The *na'ūra* or "Persian wheel" is a wheel (or, in a variant, an endless chain) with pots or buckets attached to it. The rotation of the wheel brings the water collected at the bottom to the top. It became known in the western world as well as in China about the beginning of our era and the Iranian countries seem to have been the centre of diffusion. Laufer advanced arguments in favour of Sogdiana as its original home, while Needham thought that it was invented in India. It is worth mentioning that the Manichaeans conceived the journey of the soul towards the sun as modelled on the rotation of the *na'ūra*. The water-mill, a *na'ūra* with paddles and operated by a current of water, may also be of Iranian origin. There can be no doubt that the windmill is a Persian invention, but it reached the western world only in the late Middle Ages.

Road-building was, of course, a great Roman achievement, and it is not surprising that the late Latin word *strata* for a paved road (our word "street") is found as a loan word in Middle Persian, as well as in a number of other eastern languages.³

¹ Vegetius Rhenatus, *De re militari* III, tr. J. Clarke in T. R. Phillips (ed.) *Roots of Strategy* (London, 1943), pp. 89–90.

² Our source of information (Tabarī) is comparatively late, but trustworthy; Nöldeke, *Tabarī*, p. 33; U. Monneret de Villard, *L'arte iranica* (Milan, 1954), p. 93.

³ H. W. Bailey, "Iranica II", *JRAS* 1934, p. 504; *idem*, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-century Books* (Oxford, 1943), p. 115. On another loan word, this time from the military sphere, Parthian *stratywt* from Greek *στρατιώτης*, see Henning, "Two Manichaean Magical Texts", *BSOAS* XII (1947), p. 47n4.

PARTHIA AND ROME

In antiquity the post, i.e. the state organization for transmitting orders from and news to the court, was more or less a military institution and based on statute-labour. That the Roman *cursus publicus* followed the pattern of the Persian state post has as often been stated as denied. That the Persians were the first to create such an institution is undeniable; it was, however, already taken over in hellenistic Egypt. The Islamic world followed not the Sasanian, but the Romano-Byzantine organization, even taking over its Latin name (*barid* from *veredus* "courier's horse").

CULTIVATED PLANTS

The Greco-Roman picture of the Persians as a nation of fierce and indomitable warriors contrasts strangely with another stereotype, the Persians as past masters of the art of refined living, of *luxuriose vivere*,¹ and especially as unsurpassed gourmets. The refinements of Persian cooking were already mentioned by Xenophon, who must have had first-hand experience,² and we know from a Pahlavi text, "King Khusrau and the Page", that the study of gastronomy formed part of the general education of a Persian boy. The Roman cookery book of Apicius has preserved for us the recipe for cooking "kid or lamb in the Parthian manner"; ground pepper, rue, onion, stoned damsons and a small quantity of asafoetida were some of the ingredients. Another dish in Apicius is "chicken in the Parthian manner" which received its undoubtedly strong flavour from asafoetida.³

Asafoetida, which obviously played such a part in Persian cooking, is a resin which was much appreciated as a condiment in spite of the unpleasant smell which earned it its various uncomplimentary names (Devil's Dung, etc.).⁴ The Romans received it from Persia and called it *laser Parthicum*, or *laser Cyrenaicum vel Parthicum*. The latter name refers to the fact that the once famous *silphicum*, the main product of Cyrenaica, had become excessively rare in Roman times, but the Parthian product was regarded as an adequate substitute. Asafoetida is still listed in the pharmacopoeia, but its medical use is a later development.

¹ Cornelius Nepos, *Vitae VII* (Alcibiades), 11.

² *Cyropaedia* VIII, viii, 16.

³ Apicius, *The Roman Cookery Book*, ed. and tr. B. Flower and E. Rosenbaum (London, 1958), pp. 151, 191. It should, however, be pointed out that in the recipe for lamb the reading of the manuscripts is *pasticum*, which the editors have corrected to *parthicum*; cf. E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Das Kochbuch der Römer* (Zurich, 1970), p. 81.

⁴ B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, 1919), pp. 353ff.

CULTIVATED PLANTS

Rhubarb, on the other hand, which is now considered a table delicacy, was in antiquity and the Middle Ages esteemed exclusively for its medical properties. It became known to the Greco-Roman world in the 1st and 2nd centuries of our era. It came not directly from Iran, but from "beyond the Bosphorus", a part of the world where Iranian influence was particularly strong.¹ Its Greek and Roman names (*rheon*, *rha*, etc.) reflect its indigenous designation (Mid. Pers. *rēvās*).

Asafoetida and rhubarb were not the only cultivated plants which the Romans brought from Persia to the western world. We learn from Pliny that the best kind of walnut was called by the Greeks "Persicum"; the Romans spread its cultivation all over Europe.²

The Persian pistachio became known to the Greeks in hellenistic times, but it was first planted in Italy in the 1st century of our era. Although the tree and its fruit are still called by its Persian name (modern *pista*), it seems that the tree was introduced into Italy not directly from Persia, but via the Near East.³

Two other introductions of lasting effect were the peach and the apricot. Both were of Chinese origin and both remained unknown to the Greeks. The Romans learned about them from the Persians and introduced them from Persia and Persian Armenia.

We are especially well informed about the introduction to the west of the peach (*Amygdalus persica*). Pliny says, "As the name of the peaches (*Persica*) shows, they are foreign to Asia [Minor] and to Greece, and have been introduced from Persia." The tree was then a newcomer to Italy; no other fruit was sold at such a high price. Soon various species were grown and experiments were made with grafting. The Greeks called the tree *Melea persike*, but already in the 2nd century A.D. Galen remarked that the name had been shortened to *Persike*. The same happened in Latin. Its modern name in most European languages still recalls its Persian origin.⁴

Less circumstantial are the reports about the introduction of the apricot (*Prunus armeniaca*), which is believed to have come via Armenia.⁵ Galen states that the apricot was not known to previous generations; in his time the tree as well as the fruit was called *πρεκόκκιον*, which is

¹ Dioscorides III. 2; also Pliny (XXVII. 128) says, "ex regionibus supra Pontum"; Laufer, *op. cit.*, pp. 547ff; Pauly, *s.v.* Rhabarber.

² Pliny XV. 86. Laufer, *op. cit.*, pp. 254ff.

³ Nöldeke, "Persische Studien II", *SWAW* CXXVI. 12 (1892), 43. Laufer, *op. cit.*, pp. 246ff; Pauly, *s.v.* Pistazie.

⁴ Pliny XV. 44. Laufer, *op. cit.*, p. 539; Pauly, *s.v.* Persica.

⁵ Laufer, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

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the Latin word *praecocium* "early ripe". The cultivation of the tree and its distinctive Latin name were taken over from the Byzantines by the Arabs (*barqūq*),¹ and later from the Arabs by western Europe where its modern names (apricot, abricot, etc.) clearly reflect its chequered history by combining its original Latin designation with the Arabic definite article.

On the other hand, the hazelnut came to Persia from the west and still preserves its foreign name, *funduq* (from *ποντικόν*). As the Persians would not have used a Greek adjective to refer to the Pontic regions, which belonged to their empire, the hazelnut and its name must have been brought to them by Aramaean or Arabic intermediaries.²

RELIGION

The Persian influence on Roman religion would be enormous, were we allowed to call Mithraism a Persian religion. It has very often been claimed to be one, as it centres on the cult of an ancient Iranian god. But if ever a Persian had been initiated into the mysteries of Mithraism, it is doubtful if he would have recognized anything familiar to him apart from the name of the god and one or two words of its terminology. Mithraism is a western mystery cult which sprang into existence in the last century B.C. and flourished during the first centuries of the Roman empire. Its adherents were almost exclusively small groups in the Roman army. Renan's famous and too-often quoted dictum "If the world had not become Christian, it would have become Mithraic", implying that at some stage in its history Mithraism was a serious rival to Christianity, is an exaggeration.

The size of the sanctuaries shows that the local communities must have been comparatively small. Were it a truly eastern religion, one would expect a particularly strong Iranian element in the sanctuaries of Mithras the nearer we move eastward towards the Persian frontier. Nothing of that kind is noticeable. In the Mithraeum at Dura-Europos some local features are obvious; one of the inscriptions is in Palmyrene and the local Parthian style manifests itself in a fresco painting with Mithras as a hunter, as well as in the cult reliefs; but the latter copy the fixed western prototypes, and in all essentials this sanctuary conforms

¹ Originally the apricot, but the word is now used for yellow plums.

² Cf. V. Minorsky, "A Greek Crossing on the Oxus", *BSOAS* xxx (1967), 50; and I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden* 1 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1928), 617.

RELIGION

to those which we find everywhere that Roman soldiers had been stationed.¹

The Greek and Roman image of Persian religion and sacred wisdom was largely determined by an enormous body of occult literature written in Greek, in which Babylonian magic and astrology appeared in Persian garb. Already in the time of Pliny a considerable number of books were in existence, the alleged author of which was Zarathustra. Later centuries have added to this ever growing corpus of books on witchcraft, divination, astrology and magical plants and stones. Nothing remains in it of the true Zarathustra, who has become the embodiment of Ahrimanian practices, of the powers of evil. No wonder that the Persian priest, the *magus*, gave his name to magic.

The interest of the classical world in the religion of Persia was immense; even today the scattered references in Greek and Latin authors and the fragments from lost works constitute a considerable body. But it seems that nobody in antiquity ever tried to separate the true from the fabulous, the orthodox from the heretical, or even Persian religion from Babylonian occultism. It would have been easy enough to collect correct information, but hardly anybody made the attempt,² and thus the information provided by Greek and Roman writers gives a picture of utter confusion.

On the other hand, the pseudo-Persian astrological literature of the Parthian period prepared the way for the influx of Greek astrology in the Sasanian period, and its incorporation into the Zoroastrian scriptures.³

¹ For a more detailed discussion of the influence of Iranian religious thought on the west see Ch. 22. Ed.

² Strabo (xv. 3. 15) mentions the fire temples in Cappadocia, which he had seen himself.

³ Cf. Henning, "Astronomical chapter"; MacKenzie, "Astrology in the Bundahišn". Ed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The abbreviations used in the bibliographies and footnotes are listed below.

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts) (Berlin)
<i>AAWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Göttingen)
<i>AAntASH</i>	<i>Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>AArchASH</i>	<i>Acta archaeologica academiae scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Brussels)
<i>Acta Iranica</i>	<i>Acta Iranica</i> (encyclopédie permanente des études iraniennes) (Tehran-Liège-Leiden)
<i>Aevum</i>	<i>Aevum</i> (Rassegna di Scienze Storiche Linguistiche e Filologiche) (Milan)
<i>AGWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der (königlichen) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> (Berlin)
<i>AI</i>	<i>Ars Islamica</i> = <i>Ars Orientalis</i> (Ann Arbor, Mich.)
<i>AION</i>	<i>Annali: Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i> (s.l. sezione linguistica; n.s. new series) (Naples)
<i>AJSLL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i> (Chicago)
<i>AKM</i>	<i>Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> (Leipzig)
<i>AMI</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i> (old series 9 vols 1929-38; new series 1968-) (Berlin)
<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Anatolia</i> (revue annuelle d'archéologie) (Ankara)
<i>ANS</i>	American Numismatic Society
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i> (New York)
<i>ANSNM</i>	American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs (New York)
<i>ANSNS</i>	American Numismatic Society Numismatic Studies (New York)
<i>Antiquity</i>	<i>Antiquity</i> (a periodical review of archaeology edited by Glyn Daniel) (Cambridge)
<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica Norvegica Svedica) (Copenhagen)
<i>AOAW</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
<i>AOH</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>APAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Berlin)
<i>Apollo</i>	<i>Apollo</i> (The magazine of the arts) (London)
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i> (Quarterly Journal of African, Asian and Latin American Studies) (Prague)
<i>Artibus Asiae</i>	<i>Artibus Asiae</i> (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) (Dresden, Ascona)

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- Asia Major* *Asia Major* (a journal devoted to the study of the languages, arts and civilizations of the Far East and Central Asia) old series, 11 vols (Leipzig, 1923-35); (a British journal of Far Eastern studies) new series, 19 vols (London, 1949-75)
- ASIR* *Archaeological Survey of India*. Reports made during the years 1862- by Alexander Cunningham, 23 vols. Simla-Calcutta, 1871-87.
- BASOR* *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Baltimore, Maryland)
- BCH* *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (Athens-Paris)
- BCMA* *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, Ohio)
- BEFEO* *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* (Hanoi-Paris)
- Berytus* *Berytus* (archaeological studies published by the Museum of Archaeology and the American University of Beirut) (Copenhagen)
- BMQ* *British Museum Quarterly* (London)
- BSO(A)S* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies* (University of London)
- Byzantion* *Byzantion* (Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines) (Brussels)
- CAH* *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 12 vols; 1st edition 1924-39 (Cambridge) (Revised edition 1970-)
- Caucasica* *Caucasica* (Zeitschrift für die Erforschung der Sprachen und Kulturen des Kaukasus und Armeniens) 10 fascs (Leipzig, 1924-34)
- CII* *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Oxford)
- CIIr* *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* (London)
- CRAI* *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* (Paris)
- CSCO* *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Paris, Louvain)
- CSEL* *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna)
- DOAW* *Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
- East and West* *East and West* (Quarterly published by the Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Orient) (Rome)
- EI* *Epigraphia Indica* (Calcutta)
- Eos* *Eos* (Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum) (Bratislava-Warsaw)
- EPRO* *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain* (Leiden)
- Eranos* *Eranos* (Acta Philologica Suecana) (Uppsala)
- ERE* *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1908-21)
- GCS* *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, Berlin)
- Georgica* *Georgica* (a journal of Georgian and Caucasian studies) nos. 1-5 (London, 1935-7)
- GJ* *The Geographical Journal* (London)

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- Gnomon* *Gnomon* (Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft) (Munich)
- Hellenica* *Hellenica* (recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques) (Paris)
- Historia* *Historia* (Journal of Ancient History) (Wiesbaden)
- HJAS* *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- HO* *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. B. Spuler (Leiden-Cologne)
- HOS* *Harvard Oriental Series* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- IA* *Iranica Antiqua* (Leiden)
- IJ* *Indo-Iranian Journal* (The Hague)
- IndAnt* *The Indian Antiquary*, 62 vols (Bombay, 1872-1933)
- Iran* *Iran* (journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies) (London-Tehran)
- Iraq* *Iraq* (journal of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq) (London)
- JA* *Journal Asiatique* (Paris)
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New York)
- JASB* *Journal (and proceedings) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta)
- JASBB* *Journal of the Asiatic Society Bombay Branch* (Bombay)
- JCOI* *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, 29 vols (Bombay, 1922-35)
- JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (New Haven, Conn.)
- JESHO* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden)
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (London)
- JMBRAS* *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore)
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago)
- JNSI* *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (Bombay)
- JRAS* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London)
- JRS* *The Journal of Roman Studies* (London)
- Kairos* *Kairos* (Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie) (Salzburg)
- Klio* *Klio* (Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte) (Berlin)
- Kuml* *Kuml* (Aarbog for Jysk Arkaeologisk Selskab) (Aarhus)
- KSIIIMK* *Kratkie soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniyakh Instituta istorii materialnoi kultury AN SSR* (Moscow)
- KZ* *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, begründet von Adalbert Kuhn (Göttingen)
- LCL* Loeb Classical Library
- MDAFA* Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (Paris)
- Mesopotamia* *Mesopotamia* (Rivista di Archeologia, Faculta di Lettere e filosofia) (University of Turin)
- MMAB* *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (old series 1905-42; new series 1942-) (New York)

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- MMP *Monuments et Mémoires* (publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres) (Fondation Eugène Piot, Paris)
- Le Muséon *Le Muséon* (Revue d'Études Orientales) (Louvain-Paris)
- Museum *Museum* (art magazine edited by the Tokyo National Museum) (Tokyo)
- NC *Numismatic Chronicle* (London)
- NGWG *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Göttingen)
- Numismatica *Numismatica* (Rome)
- OLZ *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin-Leipzig)
- Oriens *Oriens* (journal of the International Society for Oriental Research) (Leiden)
- Orientalia *Orientalia* (a quarterly published by the Faculty of Ancient Oriental Studies, Pontifical Biblical Institute) new series (Rome)
- Pauly *Pauly, A. Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (ed. G. Wissowa) (Stuttgart, 1894-)
- PBA *Proceedings of the British Academy* (London)
- Philologus *Philologus* (Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum) (Stolberg, etc., now Berlin)
- PO *Patrologia Orientalis* (ed. R. Gaffin and F. Nau) (Paris)
- RAA *Revue des arts asiatiques* (Paris)
- RAC *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* (ed. T. Klauser) (Stuttgart, 1950-)
- REA *Revue des études arméniennes, nouvelle série* (Paris)
- Religion *Religion* (A Journal of Religion and Religions) (Newcastle upon Tyne)
- RGG *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., 6 vols (Tübingen, 1927-32); 3rd ed., 7 vols (Tübingen, 1957-65)
- RHR *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris)
- RIN *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini* (Milan)
- RN *Revue Numismatique* (Paris)
- RSO *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Rome)
- Saeculum *Saeculum* (Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte) (Freiburg-Munich)
- SBE *Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford)
- SCBO *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* (Oxford)
- Semitica *Semitica* (Cahiers publiés par l'Institut d'Études Sémitiques de l'Université de Paris) (Paris)
- SHAW *Sitzungsberichte der heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Heidelberg)
- SPA *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, 6 vols (Text pp. 1-2817) (Oxford-London-New York, 1938-39); repr. 12 vols (Tokyo, 1964-65); no vol. XIII; vol. XIV *New Studies 1938-1960* (Text pp. 2879-3205) (Oxford-London, 1967); vol. XV *Bibliography of Pre-Islamic Persian Art to 1938* (cols 1-340), Reprint of *Index to Text Volumes I-III (i-vi)*

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- SPAW* *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Berlin)
- StIr* *Studia Iranica* (Leiden)
- Sumer* *Sumer* (journal of archaeology and history in Iraq) (Baghdad)
- SWAW* *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener (Österreichischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
- Syria* *Syria* (Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie) (Paris)
- TITAKE* *Trudi Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi Archeologicheskoi Kimpleknoi Ekspeditsii*, 6 vols (Moscow, 1949-58)
- TM* *Travaux et mémoires* (Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance) (Paris)
- T'oung Pao* *T'oung Pao* (Archives concernant l'histoire, les langues, la géographie, l'ethnographie et les arts de l'Asie orientale) (Leiden)
- TPS* *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London)
- VDI* *Vestnik drevnei istorii* (Moscow)
- WVDOG* *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Leipzig)
- WZKM* *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna)
- YCS* *Yale Classical Studies* (New Haven, Conn.)
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Berlin)
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden)
- ZN* *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (Berlin)

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